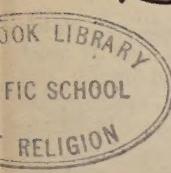


# Social Questions

## BULLETIN



of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

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## American Foreign Policy

JAMES W. FULBRIGHT<sup>1</sup>

(This article is a summary of an address delivered by Senator Fulbright at the Forum of the Foreign Policy Association held in New York City on October 20, 1945. Only limited extracts from this address have appeared in the public press. Because of its importance an extended summary is presented herewith.—Ed.)

Science has so changed the world that the ancient international political order is intolerable. The conflict in a world united by science and separated by outworn political barriers will continue either until science destroys man, or man destroys that archaic political system.

To say that there is confusion in this country regarding our foreign policy, particularly in governmental circles, is a rank understatement. In July, after months of preparation and weeks of debate, we adopted the United Nations Charter. We thought we had taken quite a large step toward the creation of an effective political system for the maintenance of a stable and peaceful world. Although some of us thought the Charter, as adopted, inadequate to maintain a lasting peace, we believed there would be sufficient time to improve it later on. At least the United States had joined it, and there seemed to be universal support which was lacking in the creation of the League of Nations. But our satisfaction was short lived. Within a few days of the adoption of the Charter, the atomic bomb not only blasted the Japanese into submission but also blasted our confidence in the Charter. A profound uneasiness has spread over the world, an uneasiness of fear of the unknown. Like primitive man in the darkness of the caves and jungles, we too are faced with elemental and infinite forces which we do not understand; forces which threaten to snuff out our lives as one does a candle between the fingers. We are doubtful of our ability to control this terrifying new force. We have lost our bearings and are unsure of our future.

Ten years ago it was unthinkable that human beings could possibly be as savage and as completely immoral, according to Christian ethics, as the Germans have proved to be. We have had an ugly but powerful demonstration at Belsen, Dachau, and many other extermination camps, of what lies beneath that thin crust of civilization so laboriously acquired by man through countless centuries of struggle up from the jungle. Although we talk bravely about our prowess, we in the United States are worried in our hearts. Like children who have lost their parents, we have lost, since the airplane and the rocket bomb, the protection of two great oceans. We are now exposed at close quarters to violent forces of a turbulent world. Our confidence in our own invincibility and our faith in the solicitude of a beneficent providence have been shaken by the atomic bomb.

The incredible scientific progress of the last few decades

induced in many people, besides the Germans, a certain arrogance and a feeling of superiority which seemed to make them unconscious of moral obligation to other men. Few people were concerned about the fate of the peoples of other lands. "Let them stew in their own juice" was the common slogan. The great and the powerful could take care of themselves and, therefore, they reasoned they must be good. But the cleverness of man has now brought into the world a power of destruction against which there is no defense. We are troubled by a feeling of helplessness. We are beginning to take a greater interest in our fellow human beings. Now we wonder if those people who concerned us so little are good people. We hope they are and that they will not use the bomb against us *first*. On every hand this fear, amounting almost to hysteria, causes otherwise rational men to act in strange ways and to utter the grossest absurdities. Men react in strange and unpredictable ways when afraid.

Even before the affair of Hiroshima, we were unpredictable in our own policy. We declared great principles on occasions, but we faltered in carrying them out. In September, 1943, by an overwhelming vote, the House of Representatives declared that it favored the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace, but we have wavered in our path toward this objective. Our principles surely include the support, wherever possible, of liberal democratic governments and the creation of a multilateral organization to preserve peace. What have we done? At San Francisco we went down the line, with all our strength, for Argentina under Peron. We insisted upon exclusive jurisdiction over conquered bases in the Pacific, thereby setting the precedent for similar demands from Russia. In the drafting of the Charter, we supported the concept of sovereign equality as the first principle and we defended the veto power in the Council, both inconsistent with the ultimate purpose of the United Nations Conference.

In spite of our professed intention to build an organization with adequate power, we have done little to achieve that end. Instead, we have already fallen to quarreling with Russia, like two big dogs chewing on a bone. Our policy should not be merely to love or to hate Russians or any other people; it should be to obtain their assistance in the creation of a *bona fide* organization based upon law, and with force and vitality in its system. The control of the atomic bomb, coupled with important strengthening of the organization's powers, could be that vitality.

Inconsistencies between our declared policies and our actions indicate the confusion in our minds. We undertook to play a large role in the occupation and pacification of the conquered nations, but we precipitately withdraw our armed forces and demobilize even before the peace treaties are signed. One may wonder, are we or are we not going

<sup>1</sup> James W. Fulbright, representing the state of Arkansas in the U. S. Senate, is one of the youngest members of that body, born on April 9, 1905. A graduate of the University of Arkansas, 1925, he was a Rhodes Scholar in Oxford, 1928-31, later a special attorney of the Anti-Trust Division, Department of Justice. He served as President of the University of Arkansas, 1939-41.

to use our influence and play a leading role in world affairs?

On the subject of the disposition of the atomic bomb, there is a similar inconsistency and confusion as to the proper course. A few have chosen, apparently, to ignore its significance. They still talk of armies and navies, ships and planes, just as if nothing important had happened. They seek refuge in the old saw that after every discovery of offensive weapons, a defense has been adopted. They discount the advice of the physicists who tell us that they are unable even to imagine a defense to the ruthless use of such power.

I do not believe there is a defense against total destruction inflicted instantaneously. Our common sense should tell us that an enemy who chooses to attack us as Japan did without declaring war, can plant bombs in all our large cities and wipe out one-third of our population in one night. Or, if one wishes to speculate, a single fleet of 500 planes could in peace time without any warning drop sufficient bombs to destroy our cities and our industrial power. Consider the physical organization of our industry and the location of our population. Our great cities which contain a third of our population and a much greater percentage of our industry are perfect targets for atomic bombs. The twenty largest metropolitan areas contain 40 million people. In one night of carefully planned attack without warning, we could be paralyzed. Compared to the dispersion of Russian industry, and population, we are infinitely more vulnerable.

There are others who say that the bomb is a secret and that we must keep it for our own protection and for the peace of the world. "We paid for it", they say, "we found it, why shouldn't we keep it?" And besides, we are good people, we should be trusted for the good of mankind. These ideas are held by many people, some with considerable influence, and cannot be dismissed as being of little consequence. It is the same basic philosophy that led us to believe that we were so self-sufficient that we could live apart from the world. We have created a rich, comfortable life and should not be disturbed in our enjoyment of it by concern over the troubles of other peoples in China, Spain, Ethiopia, or Poland.

In opposition to this popular conception, we have the word of the scientists themselves, practically all of them, that there is nothing secret about the bomb except the industrial process of manufacture and that any one of several industrial nations probably can produce bombs in from three to five years. Further, it is common knowledge that the scientists of many nations, men and women from Italy, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, and England, to mention only a few, contributed to the production of the atomic bomb. This discovery is ours only in a limited sense. Our money would have been fruitless without the brains of others. But even if we had found it by our efforts alone, is it possible that we regard this cosmic discovery as a mere chattel for our personal use? To those good citizens who think the peoples of the world should trust us to use the bomb to protect them, I can only say that I am sure those other peoples disagree. It is already clear that the Russians have some doubts about the stability and security of such a world. More than words will be necessary to convince them. We should ask ourselves, would we be content to entrust our lives and fortunes to the Russians if they alone had the atomic bomb? I agree that we have, on the whole, been relatively peaceful and non-aggressive people, but there is no guarantee that we shall remain so. In fact, I have heard of some people who advocate our immediate attack upon potential enemies, and one prominent general recently asserted publicly, in no uncertain terms, that a third war is inevitable. With whom is it inevitable? we may well ask. I do agree that such foolish talk is calculated better than anything I know to induce another war.

The discovery and use of atomic energy has dramatized in a highly effective manner a fact that many observers had already sensed. This fact is the fundamental disequilibrium that has gradually grown up between the natural sciences

and the art of government. Can we bring back into balance the art of government and natural science? Can we re-adjust the disequilibrium which has been growing for approximately one hundred and seventy years?

To me, it seems clear that the medieval political status under which the world operates is obsolete and that it must be discarded just as we discarded the horse and buggy, not over-night, but by stages as we develop the appropriate machinery. We have, in a very limited sense, already begun the process in the creation of the United Nations Organization. But this organization provides us only with a skeleton machinery without life and vitality. Before it can become an effective instrumentality it must be given more definite and certain powers. The greatest defect of the Charter, which was quite clear at the time of its adoption, is the requirement of unanimity of the five big powers on all matters of importance. This rule of unanimity is but another way of saying that we shall go along and abide by the rules. As a practical matter the rule of unanimity is a hopeless principle for any governmental organization. The League of Nations demonstrated its weakness and more recently the London Conference of Foreign Ministers has shown us what to expect from its operation. I know of no instance in history in which it has been effective. At the time of San Francisco this requirement was apparently indispensable to obtaining agreement. However, since the atomic bomb, it may well be that all the nations will agree that, at least in the field of armaments and especially the production of atomic weapons, a complete and definite power to inspect and control throughout the world should be given the United Nations Organization. This power should be carefully limited, but within its proper limits it must be positive and complete or there can be no confidence in its efficacy.

I feel very strongly that the path of wisdom is not secreteness and suspicion, but is the widest possible dissemination of scientific knowledge, coupled with an efficient system of control. The only solution that I can conceive of is the recognition, by all nations, that at last the time has arrived for all of us to delegate certain and definite powers over armaments to the United Nations Organization. Safeguards and limitations should be carefully worked out and agreed upon. Disputes of any kind relating to the subject should be under the compulsory jurisdiction of the international court, and every nation, and every individual in every nation, must be subject to the verdict of the court. If a nation, or individuals within a nation, should prove to be recalcitrant, then the full power of the organization collectively and severally should be pledged to the enforcement of the judgment.

To those who object that this is setting up a world government, I can only reply that call it what you will, there is no other principle with the slightest chance of success in the control of the atomic bomb. All other methods of controlling armaments and preventing wars have been tried. It is entirely vain to say that we shall renounce the use of the bomb or that we shall outlaw it by treaty. The very words "to outlaw," as between sovereign nations, are a fraud. There is no law in the real sense between sovereign nations and it is fallacious to speak of outlawing any practice they may believe to be to their advantage to use. It is just barely possible that atomic power is so deadly that all people will be afraid to use it, but this is a very faint hope upon which to erect a decent and peaceful world.

The hope for America and for the world does not lie along the road of secret methods of destruction, or more and bigger armaments. The only hope lies in the application to all men of the principles of law, the only principles that have ever brought peace to mankind.

We have at hand the rough skeletal machinery to begin our task. It offers the kind of opportunity which is not likely to come to a people more than once. We have the compelling motive of complete extinction if we are too timid and fail.

# "Your Solemn Assemblies"

GEORGE A. COE<sup>1</sup>

A little weekly paper that serves a celebrated congregation as its "house organ" has printed an article under the title, "Significance of Altar Candle Use Explained in Study Conducted by two Church Committees." The two bodies to which reference is made are the standing Music Committee and a Special Committee created by the Official Board. We are informed that for several weeks they have been studying the use of candles upon the altar of their house of worship; that several churches have been visited; that authorities in church decoration and religious symbolism have been consulted, and that the study is not yet completed. The occasion for this laborious inquiry is that members of the congregation are somewhat divided with respect to candles. There are complaints that the candle flames cause optical discomfort, that the process of extinguishing the candles lengthens the service unduly, and that the ceremonial manner in which they are lighted and extinguished represents "too extreme a religious formality." On the other hand, members of the congregation who favor the practice are said to have historical justification for their view in that candles have value as symbols. The article explains that "the single candle—one on each side [of the altar]—may be accepted as emphasizing that Christ is the Light of the World." "This simple arrangement," it is remarked, "appears to be especially appropriate when there are flowers on the altar. In the absence of flowers, two clusters of three candles each have been used. The significance of this arrangement is that three candles denote the Holy Trinity." On Easter, Palm Sunday, and Christmas two candelabra containing seven candles each have appeared, the reason for the number seven being that "Seven candles are accepted as indicating the seven gifts of the Spirit." The committees are giving careful consideration to the manner of lighting and extinguishing the candles. It is revealed that the young men who perform this service have been called "acolytes", but improperly, because they are merely members of the chancel choir, and these duties may be considered as part of the choir's service. The question of optical discomfort is receiving judicial consideration. Indeed, the whole article represents the two committees as sympathetic, cautious, and persevering.

A whole congregation stirred; two committees at pains-taking study for weeks; further study planned—here is a church that takes worship seriously. All that seems to be lacking is reasonable assurance that God is similarly concerned about the correct use of candles. *Candles upon the "altar"!* What church can this be? It is the First Methodist Church of Evanston, Illinois, from whose weekly *Review* of July 7, 1945, quotation has been made.

Two questions are appropriate: How can this be in a church that has the history of this one? and, What is the bearing of it upon the present world situation? The answer to the first of these questions is that we have before us no local idiosyncrasy, but a local manifestation of a country-wide ecclesiastical drift that has been going on for a generation and more and has resulted in altering the form of worship in hundreds of Protestant churches. It first took the form of complaint against the over-plainness and lack of taste that our dissenting churches had inherited from the anti-papery zeal of their British predecessors. There was longing for dignity and beauty in the house of God and in the procedures of worship. How was this longing to be satisfied? There were two possible ways, an easy one and a hard one. The easy way was to restore some of the ecclesi-

astical objects and processes that Reformation enthusiasm had cast out; the hard way was to create original outlets for what was in the heart. There was room, and there was need, for methods of devotion that would bring to clear consciousness profound but latent meanings of the movement of dissent. The movement for the enrichment of worship took the easy way. Instead of spiritual creativeness, ecclesiastical borrowing became characteristic. There ensued an enormous amount of imitation in church architecture; in the paraphernalia of worship; in the rituals of song, prayer, and Scripture; even in the terminology of godliness—imitation, specifically, of what had had its most elaborate development in medieval Europe.

Doubtless this borrowing of liturgical externals was supposed to provide only a vestibule to the holy of holies. Certainly there was and is desire for inner realization of the divine presence. But imitation is a subtle process, and it can be treacherous. There is, in fact, a psychological fallacy in the assumption that we can borrow a vestibule without borrowing something that is beyond it. The human mind always gravitates towards some sort of integration. A fashion in clothing tends to become automatically a fashion in conduct, and a fashion in conduct always produces some fashion in thinking. Similarly, when a selected part of medieval worship is reinstated, additional parts first insinuate themselves, and then offer justification for themselves. In this movement for enrichment of worship, what started out as endeavor to realize more fully the presence of God quickly became a revival of ecclesiasticism—a revival of both the authoritarian and the institutional aspects of it. Expiring dogmas were galvanized, and this brings us to our second question.

An unintended and mostly unrecognized relation to the social issues of our time was present from the beginning in the movement for the enrichment of worship. This will begin to appear as soon as one asks *who* is enriched. If anybody is enriched, it is the attendants (not God, of course). Now, the attendants, for the most part, are drawn from the middle and upper classes. Consequently, if the benefit is to extend to the working classes, it must reach them chiefly through changes wrought in employers and business men. Therefore, the full social significance of altars, candles, church architecture, and Sunday ceremonials will not appear until we ask what it is that employers and business men most certainly experience through them. If what the worshipper most certainly experiences is an hour's release from week-day burdens and problems, how does this differ from recreation? If the difference lies simply in the immersion of the mind in ideas, ideals, and emotions that contrast with those of one's week-day experience, what ground is there for expecting that Monday morning will not see one's occupation resumed where it was dropped on Saturday, with its existing purposes intensified and pursued with increased vigor derived from Sunday's vacation?

As early as 1923 I found it possible to assert that this kind of worship, like ordinary recreations, can and does reinforce existing economic habits.<sup>1</sup> The years that have sped past since then offer massive confirmation of this conclusion. This resurgence of ecclesiasticism has been coincident and partly identical with reaction against the "social gospel". In my presence a prominent protagonist of "the church" who was engaged in enriching worship, upon being asked whether he regarded God as a social being, refused to commit himself! Perhaps he believed that God accepts worship that is non-committal in matters that concern the weal and woe of God's children; or perhaps he thought that worshipful assent to social sentiments expressed in broad

<sup>1</sup> George A. Coe, now retired, was for years Professor of Religious Education in Teachers College, Columbia University; in earlier years John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in Northwestern University. He is the author of *The Spiritual Life: A Social Theory of Religious Education; The Motives of Men, and other books.*

<sup>1</sup> "Who is Enriched by the Enrichment of Worship?" *Journal of Religion*, 1923, pp. 22-33.  
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# Secretary's Personal Report

It is a clear, cool starlit night in the Emory University section of Atlanta, Georgia. This afternoon a group of us were galloping through the woods on the backs of beautiful horses. The trees were aflame. Autumn here is almost as superb as spring. It has been good to revisit the campus where I spent four happy, growing years. There have been treasured memories to rekindle; old friendships to vivify. But such a visit today is not without pain, much of it the fruit of the searing hand of modern war. There was the boy whose friendship meant so much to me, with whom I roamed on this campus as a student. He was in the air force—lost in training flight. Last night I visited an Atlanta aunt and uncle, whose son, a first cousin, in submarine duty for the Navy, has been lost for months, and is not expected to return. He left behind a young wife and baby girl. Today I was greeted warmly in church by the President of Emory University. His son and namesake, in the air force, was killed over the English channel.

These three boys—symbols they are of the cruel, undiscriminating toll of war. The world cannot afford another war. America nor any other nation could possibly win it; humanity would lose it. But secure peace will not come by our wishing for it. There are prerequisites to meet. There is the prerequisite of international friendship, within the framework of which Soviet-American trust and cooperation is primary, and for which the atomic bomb could never be a substitute. There is the parallel prerequisite of interracial brotherhood, without which brotherhood between nations can falter and collapse. But what realistic hope is there for ethnic success if we have economic failure? This suggests a third prerequisite of lasting peace: full, socially useful employment aimed at meeting the needs of men who have laid down the weapons of war.

These prerequisites can be met if we do the jobs required, such as: internationalize the atomic bomb before the fabric of international trust is shattered and the threatened armaments race begun; recognize, outgrow, and attack and destroy the specific barriers of racial and creedal discrimination and segregation around us; win the immediate battles before us for full and useful peacetime production and employment. The peace of the world was lost when Fascism's initial victory was won. If the world cannot afford more war it cannot afford more Fascism. Fascism was nourished in the soil of international, ethnic and economic failure. If we would avoid another Fascist triumph we must avoid another era of isolationism, racial bigotry, economic depression and mass unemployment.

It is to such an end that the Methodist Federation for Social Service is dedicated. Perhaps this is why its program has been making sense to an increasing number of new members and new chapters.

On October 8 the Methodist Preachers Meeting in New York City invited me to speak with some detail and documentation on the problem of full employment. On October 13 and 14, John Wade and I represented the national office in an Eastern C.P.S. Conference held at Washington Square Methodist Church in New York. There was a good attendance by men in C.P.S. units who expect soon to be demobilized and were seeking light on the problem of Christian Vocation in post-war America. On the evening of the 14th I began a University of Life Forum series at Calvary Methodist Church in Washington, D. C., of which Orris G. Robinson is pastor. On the next morning it was my privilege to speak for a second time this year to the Washington Methodist Preachers meeting. That night a special meeting was held in the Methodist Building called by a committee of ministers, including Dr. John C. Millian, Dr. John Rustin, Dr. Orris G. Robinson and others. There was lay as well as clerical representation. New MFSS memberships were secured on the spot. A Washington MFSS Chapter was

definitely organized by unanimous vote of those attending the meeting, and it was agreed to meet the minimum standards proposed for local chapters (25 voting members, democratic elections, monthly meetings at which specific social action is taken, a chapter correspondent keeping in regular touch with the national office). The election of officers and the finalization of other organizational details were left until the November meeting. It is good to have a local chapter in our Nation's capital.

On October 18, I spoke on "Social Evangelism" to the Syracuse Area Conference on Evangelism. On the same day two brief meetings were held, sponsored by our three MFSS Conference Chapters in the Syracuse Area: one from 8:30 to 9 a.m. and the second following lunch. The earlier meeting was largely attended and gave specific consideration to peacetime conscription. A strong resolution against conscription was adopted and communicated to the press, the President, and the appropriate Congressmen. The second meeting led to decisions by the three Conference Chapters to have all-day retreats (mid-year meetings) with inter-chapter visitations in each instance.

A couple of urgent telegrams from Vaughn Smith, Wesley Foundation Director at the University of Oklahoma, took me away from the national office more than a week earlier than planned to attend a special meeting, October 23, on behalf of MFSS, during the West Oklahoma Annual Conference. Reaching Oklahoma City on the morning of the 23rd I was given a chance to bring a brief greeting to the entire Conference. Afterwards Rev. Robert Smith, a Federation member and pastor of the McFarlin Methodist Church in Norman, announced in Conference session the pending supper meeting. Seventy-four raised their hands as planning to attend, but there must have been over 100 present—including youth, laymen, and laywomen, as well as ministers. Each attendant had before him a copy of the MFSS national Program of Study and Action as reprinted from the October BULLETIN. Following my speech, which began during the eating, a motion was made, seconded, discussed and unanimously passed, to organize a West Oklahoma Conference Chapter with acceptance of the proposed Conference Chapter Standards (see April BULLETIN). It was further agreed to hold a second meeting to finish necessary business that very evening, following the Conference session. The second meeting was also well attended. Some 30 new membership cards were signed on the spot in the two meetings. Every one of the new memberships was on a voting basis. The chapter elected the following officers: President, the Rev. Forrest Fields; Vice-President, Professor Bender; Secretary-Treasurer, the Rev. Vaughn Smith. Action was immediately taken by the chapter against peacetime conscription. This was in response to the urging of an MFSS youth member who wore the uniform of Uncle Sam's army. It was timely action, coming on the very day of President Truman's speech before Congress on the subject. Appropriate follow-up communications (both corporate and individual) were dispatched to the President and to Oklahoma Congressmen. The newly elected officers were instructed to set up a chapter membership committee to expand MFSS membership throughout the Conference. It was agreed that the committee should have representation from each district and from laymen, laywomen, and youth, as well as clergy. The new officers were further instructed to set up an all-day mid-year meeting as soon as possible, so that more thorough attention could be given to the formulation and carrying out of the program. The officers are currently planning to hold this meeting in early December in Norman. The new chapter has already placed an order for 1,000 copies of the MFSS Study and Action Program (reprint from October BULLETIN). *Why can there not be a similar initiation of Conference chapters in all the Conferences of Methodism?*

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## "There Is a Christian View"

In his posthumously published book, "The Church Looks Forward," William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, repeatedly says that *there is a Christian View of social matters* and that he is concerned to find what that view is. Here is a statement of conviction and an attitude of mind in which, as I recently sought to make clear in another connection, I most heartily join.

*Christianity has spoken across the centuries*, sometimes with faint voice and again with thunderous tones. As William Temple said, "I find it is really necessary in these days to persuade people that the Christian Church has quite steadily maintained a witness on these matters, though it has been obscured—never completely obliterated. . . . I think it is going pretty strong again now."

The Church throughout the world *is* on the offensive today on the issues that vitally affect the lives of people. The World Council of Churches in process of formation has its study department. One of the first important documents, entitled "*Ecclesia Militans*," shows how the Church is militant today in ethical, social, and political matters. Under the heading, "The Church Speaks to the World," quotations are given from forty churches in ten different countries under the subtitles: The Duty of the Church to Speak to the World; The Church Speaks to the State, to the Nation, to Society, to the World of Nations. Since that publication, later declarations from Catholics and Protestants, and from both together have come from many quarters showing that the Church is on the offensive on behalf of a Christian society with a thirst for a true freedom, a true justice, and a real security. These statements are coming from the Continental Churches, from England and the Americas, and from the ends of the earth. We have lifted up our voices in admiration of such churchmen in Germany as have protested in the name of religion. The Churches in Holland and other European countries have found new life among the people in proportion as they have become vocal on behalf of specific human interests.

*The Church has the right to speak, and it must continue to speak.* The right to speak is derived from the central teachings of the Gospel. Its necessity of speaking is the necessity of being true to its message and its witness. "We can rightly say that no degree of piety, no profundity in theology, and no effectiveness in the cure of individual souls can make up for social blindness."

"Let the Church mind its own business," said the military staff of Germany, "and leave to the 'Experts' all matters having to do with politics, economics, national defense, race relations, international security, etc., etc." When the Church, and other social institutions such as the school and university, obeyed the injunction, the hard bitten "realists" had their way. And then we wonder why the Germans allowed themselves to be carried into the excesses which have horrified the entire world.

Who are the "experts" to whom we are to leave the determination of our life? Congressmen, Generals and Admirals, a General Staff, Columnists, Editors? What becomes of the citizen if we are to leave all to the decisions of the "experts"? One of the truly vicious assumptions today is that we are to leave to the military the decision regarding the long-range policy of conscription in spite of the fact that it is a fundamental principle of our democracy that great decisions having to do with our long-range military policy are to be decided by civilians and not by an American General Staff.

The hope of our democracy is in the intelligence of our citizens. We must assume that they will have enough sense to make proper use of the "experts." However, if the citizen gives over his responsibility then our democracy is on its way to speedy death. I hold to Plato's great words: "The good man is the good citizen in the good state." And man is not good until he takes his place as a good citizen.

There are some who say, "Let the Church call for righteousness but let her refuse always to speak on specific issues." That policy explains why we have not gotten farther toward achieving a Christian world. Rather than discouraging statements on specific issues we should expect them to be made. Instead of seeking to hamper and restrain those representatives of the Church who fearlessly declare their convictions on vital issues we should commend them. If we believe them to be fundamentally Christian in experience and character, sincere in their convictions, and loyal to the Church, we should defend them even if we cannot agree with everything they say. Here we come upon the fundamental issue of free speech, free writing, and free publication. It would be a strange and inexcusable thing if we should undertake to censor every detail of what they say. We do well to remember in this connection that there were many people in Great Britain who bitterly assailed William Temple for his social and economic convictions and for his frankness in giving utterance to them. It was Leslie Weatherhead who said some months before the Archbishop's death: "The Archbishop of Canterbury has given a lead which has put Christianity on the map as it has not been on the map for fifty years. Criticised for talking politics and sociology, he has claimed a place for Christ's spirit which is the first place, and demanded that every phase of man's activity be directed by it. It must guide everything, says the redoubtable Temple."

All the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of Christ. It is our daily prayer that God's will may be done on earth. If this prayer is realized, it must be in the areas where men live and work.—JAMES C. BAKER.

When he was preaching and teaching in Galilee, Jesus saw with deeper insight than his disciples that the real difficulty was not with the multitudes who were alienated from the forms and institutions of the organized religion of the times. "The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few." He turned to the fundamental lack: "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest." This diagnosis applies to the social situation of our times. The unchurched multitudes are waiting with anxious hearts and open minds for the message and the healing, saving power of prophetic religion. Jesus still calls for laborers who share his spirit and who will employ his methods and voice his message.

## Social Questions

### BULLETIN

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# Labor's Case

The industrial crisis which now confronts the nation is discussed objectively and, we believe, fairly, in this issue of the BULLETIN by Owen M. Geer, whose experience for years as a pastor in a highly industrialized area adjacent to Detroit has brought him into intimate personal contact with both labor and management. The wartime stabilization program established by Franklin D. Roosevelt as a guarantee against inflation was intended to exact equal sacrifices from management and labor. But, as Mr. Geer emphasizes, it failed to work as intended. Its execution was far from perfect. Wage levels were kept rigid but, due in large part to the unwillingness of the Congress majority to cooperate fully with the administration and the bitter antagonism of many Congressmen, corporation earnings were permitted to expand to ten billions after taxes—an unparalleled increase. Employees whose wages increase, under the Little Steel formula, was held to 15 per cent of a modest wage, witnessed the elimination by Congress—under big business pressure—of the President's \$25,000 salary limit after taxes.

Workers were patient while living costs steadily climbed—if not to the 45.3 per cent increase claimed by labor studies—certainly to the 30 per cent admitted by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, twice the figure used in the Little Steel formula. Now that war has ended they feel that patience has ceased to be a virtue. A 30 per cent increase in living costs may not mean much to men whose monthly salaries are computed in terms of four figures, or more, but it cuts deep into the salaries of workers, even those whose monthly pay checks were materially increased by overtime pay—an increase largely counterbalanced by tax deductions. To the industrial employee and the white collar worker it means in many cases, in fact, the difference between balancing the family budget and accumulating debt. This is shown conclusively by the United Steel Workers of America, C.I.O., study made recently in Braddock, Pa., a typical war com-

munity. According to this study the average steel worker—and steel workers it should be remembered were among the highest paid war workers—had a take-home pay, after taxes, of \$45.92. Family expenditures averaged \$57.10, leaving a deficit to be made up by earnings of other members of the family or by borrowing. To meet the deficit more than 50 per cent of the Braddock steel workers, the study showed, had to draw upon savings' deposits, cash war bonds, or go into debt.

Two additional factors contributing to workers' discontent, both of which labor is keenly conscious of, should be mentioned. Not only are living costs continuing at wartime levels: there is little hope of conditions changing for the better. In the face of reduction in work-week hourly schedules, there is a tremendous hue and cry on the part of big business lobbyists, echoed by certain of their stooges in Congress, for doing away with all controls over materials and many controls over prices. The trend has been increasingly evident ever since war's closing. Unless the general public quickly awakens and makes its influence far more effectively felt we are in for more and more inflation with an accompanying sharp decrease in the real value of wages.

The second factor of which labor is acutely conscious is the provision in the wartime tax law by which corporations, if they so elect, are privileged to clamp the doors of their factories and maintain their profits by claiming special tax refunds to the extent—in terms of the total available to all corporations—of billions of dollars while their employees draw on their meagre unemployment compensation reserves. The recent Congressional insistence on doing away with excess profits taxes simultaneously with refusing to increase unemployment compensation benefits has served to deepen labor's conviction that at present the scales of legislation are tipped against it and that it must fight its own battle with such weapons as it has at its command.

## Federation Activities and Reports

**NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE.**—At the Conference session a brief meeting of the Conference Committee on Social Service was held, the chairman, the Rev. J. George Butler, presiding. A brief statement was made by MFSS Secretary Jack R. McMichael, followed by informal discussion. On motion of Charles C. Webber, seconded by Paul DuBois, it was voted that a Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Service in the New York East Conference be organized. Two recommendations were offered in connection with the organization: (1) That membership consist of voting members of the Federation; and (2) that there be two divisions within the Conference—one for New York and one for Connecticut. A steering committee was named to further the details of organization consisting of Worley, Auman, A. J. Smith, Raymond Morris, and L. H. Davis. Among others present at the meeting were Hart, Stewart, DuBois, Morley, Tucker, Butler, Wiborg, Workman, W. F. Davis, Jr., Webber, Oeshkoff, Heck, Wayne White, Percy Chamberlain, Eddington, and Hemingway.—L. F. WORLEY.

**ERIE CONFERENCE METHODIST FEDERATION** met in the old Stone Church, Meadville, Pa., on Wednesday, September 5, at 7 P.M. The first action taken was that the Federation make every effort to meet the requirements for a Standard Chapter of the national body. The Secretary was ordered to send a letter to all members of the Annual Conference, both ministerial and lay, concerning this action. As soon as the qualifications are met the Executive Committee is to apply for such a status. The only qualification now

lacking is the one hundred members. For some years we have held the required two Conference meetings per year, with Democratic election of officers by chapter members at one designated annual meeting. The Social Action Committee is directed to propose specific action for each of our two annual meetings. As president, I am delegated to keep in touch with the national office. Our officers are: President, Macklyn E. Lindstrom; Vice-President, Wayne Furman; Secretary-Treasurer, Owen Shields. Committees are: Executive, Membership, Mid-year Meeting, Social Action, Nominating. An attempt will be made during one of the sessions of the 1946 Annual Conference to describe the work of the Federation and to enlist new members.

Our Federation report to the Annual Conference consisted of nine sections. Brief excerpts are: Section III: "We urge active support for the following measures: That (1) the United States representatives in the United Nations Organization exert every effort to secure an immediate international agreement whereby Peacetime and Compulsory Military Service shall be wholly eliminated from the policies and practices of all nations. (2) The Atomic Bomb should be turned over to the United Nations Council for continued research experiments for possible peacetime application of this startling new force. The manufacture or use of the Atomic Bomb by any nation for purposes of war should be forever barred. (3) The manufacture of all armaments and munitions of war should be placed under the strictest supervision of the United Nations Council. (4) Every effort should be made to devise adequate means of removing all profits from war, including high war-time wages."

Section IV (4): "While deeply conscious of the tremendous sacrifices that have been made in gaining many of our Pacific objectives, and recognizing the widespread demand that we retain permanent possession of many of these bases, we nevertheless believe that such action by our government would be disastrous. Now is the time for America to demonstrate to the world that we do not believe that might makes right."

Section VI (3): "We urge ministers and leading laymen to become leaders in community projects to plan memorials for our war dead. This important matter should not be left to the judgment of pseudo-community leaders who operate the saloons and liquor businesses. Every memorial should be designed to serve some useful purpose, and not merely serve as an ugly reminder of man's inhumanity to his fellow-men. (4) We believe that sentiment needs to be aroused to secure fairer treatment and a more liberal discharge system for Conscientious Objectors. . . . We must see that they are not unfairly discriminated against, economically or socially, or in our churches."

Section VII (3): "We urge the creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission by the Federal Government."—MACKLYN E. LINDSTROM.

MINNESOTA CONFERENCE MFSS CHAPTER met in all-day session at the Methodist Church, Owatonna, October 4, 1945. Rev. Wilbur Grose, pastor of St. Anthony Park Methodist Church, St. Paul, presided. Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, W.S.C.S., of the Board of Missions, and Recording Secretary of MFSS, was resource leader. John Vandermyde,

representing Midland Cooperative Wholesale, interpreted the Cooperative Movement to the group, and led a discussion. Study and discussion centered in the following major areas: Capital and Labor; the Cooperative Movement; Peace-time Conscription; Pressure Groups; and Interracial Problems. Thirty ministers and laymen were in attendance during the session.

The Chapter meeting took action favoring local community conferences for (1) study of the problems of labor, capital, and consumers for the purpose of creating a better understanding of inter-relationships; (2) creating greater inter-class harmony; and (3) promoting the general public welfare. These conferences should be expected to lead to such specifics as: (1) consultation between representatives of management, labor, and the Church; (2) establishment of Credit Unions and increase of membership in local cooperatives; (3) meetings for the interpretation of the trade union movement to rural communities, and the thought and interests of rural communities to labor.

Announcement was made of the formation of a Minnesota Committee to oppose Peacetime Military Conscription. Thirteen of those present agreed to join the committee.

A Committee was authorized to be composed of W. D. Grose, Edward Foote, and Franklin Zentz to bring to the attention of the Minnesota Conference the question of designation of the Conference Chapter of MFSS to represent the Conference officially on matters of social action.

At the concluding session Miss Thelma Stevens reported on the operation of pressure groups in Washington, stating that while in 1924 there were 145 lobbying organizations, by 1943 the number had increased to 1,400, 90 per cent of which represented special interests.—WILBUR D. GROSE.

## Strife in the Industrial World

OWEN M. GEER<sup>1</sup>

The other day at the state convention of the Michigan Council of Churches, a minister became rather "warm" over the matter of strikes. He declared that the time had come to raise the question of the right of a relative small group of men to "pull" a strike which might ultimately result in the whole country going without gasoline, or otherwise being inconvenienced. "Hasn't the public a stake in this industrial situation somewhere?"

Most of us would find some sympathy with his attitude, especially after a week or two of inability to buy gasoline for our needed driving, even though gas rationing had ended. The oil workers seemed to be striking against the public interest.

What is back of the wave of strikes across the country? Is there any real reason for it, now that we are on the eve of a period of possible prosperity, with a vast deficit of consumer goods? If we are going to have factories constantly shut down, who will make the cars, the refrigerators, furniture, and other goods that we need?

The general impression of many people whose opinions are formed from reading the papers and listening to radio commentators, is that the unions are run by a bunch of irresponsible, power-mad racketeers. But this isn't a fair picture.

In the first place, labor has been working under a wage formula, called the "Little Steel" formula, which fixes wages at the going rate in April, 1941. The work week was set at forty-eight hours. Men got overtime pay for anything beyond those hours. The end of the war brought a reduction in the weekly hour schedule, with the result that take-home pay has been cut from 10 per cent to 40 per cent. During the same four-year period, in spite of O.P.A. regulations,

the cost of living has been creeping up, and the increase now is set at an average of 25 to 30 per cent above that of four years ago.

Thus, while men in industry are supposedly receiving the same pay as they did four years ago their real wages will buy in all cases much less, in some cases little more than half what it would buy in 1941. They have taken one of the most severe wage-cuts in history.

Some adjustment is necessary for the present situation is unjust. A second factor is important, namely, that the experts for the unions say that industrial profits are at an all-time high. The Research Department of the C.I.O. points out, for example, that profits of automobile manufacturers in the first half of 1944, the latest period for which the figures are available, are 2.1 times greater than the pre-war average. The profits of the parts and accessories manufacturers are 9.4 times as high as the pre-war average.

### Gulf Between Wages and Profits

This disparity between wages and profits, say the unions, is unfair. The facts point to a general wage increase. Further, they claim that it is possible to raise wages as much as 30 per cent without raising the cost of new cars. An increase of 30 per cent is necessary in order to rectify the cut in wages. And since the element of wages is a minor factor in the cost of production of most industrial products, the unions insist that the profits now being made by the companies justify a wage increase.

Management thus far has declared the demand for a wage increase unreasonable. General Motors, which was selected by the United Automobile Workers for a test case, claims that this wage increase would have to be paid out of accrued earnings which are ear-marked for reserve, intended for new plant expansion, replacement, etc. The unions reply that the wage increase can be paid out of current profits, without

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cutting the ultimate net profit of the General Motors Corporation below 200 million dollars annually.

### *Labor Comes of Age*

Evidence mounts up to indicate that a new kind of labor organization has come into being. The labor leader who swaggers into a meeting flanked by ugly-looking bodyguards, and demands "dat youse guys com tru or else," which is the picture that a good many people have of these gentlemen, is now replaced by a quiet, unassuming individual, flanked by a battery of legal talent and economists. Management, however, doesn't seem to like the second type of labor leader any better than they did the first.

And when the representatives of labor begin to quote balance sheets, reports to stockholders, and production costs to management, the latter gets noticeably nervous. Thomas Stokes describes the meeting between General Motors management and Walter Reuther of the C.I.O., when Harry Coen, a G.M. labor relations man, who had "returned, fresh and rested, from a hunting trip," to enter the sessions. At one point Mr. Coen blurted out, according to Mr. Reuther, "It would help a lot if the union would limit its demands to a straight wage increase, without involving profits, prices, and over-all economy."

Labor replies that you cannot discuss wage increases without involving profits and prices. Management, otherwise, simply resorts to the time-honored reply to all such requests, "No! Profits of the company won't stand a raise!" Labor now says, "Well, let's study the financial condition of the company to see whether earnings will stand for a wage-increase."

Labor, furthermore, seems to have the facts. The Director of Research for the C.I.O., for example, is Prof. Raymond Walsh, formerly of Harvard University. When Labor comes in with brief-cases full of statistics, it is ably represented by men who are just as well-qualified as is management to speak on costs of production, prices, etc.

Another aspect of labor's dealing with management is the bid which labor is making for public opinion. In the past management has largely ignored public opinion. To be sure, management has published full-page statements in the press, and used the radio for purposes of "enlightening" the public. But it has seemed all along to assume that the real facts and figures of capital investment, production costs and profits are the personal and private business of the owners. Rarely has management published complete and frank statements of profits and labor costs. Labor goes directly to the public with its case, and invites the representatives of the press into meetings with management. Management, on the other hand, has invited the reporters to leave the meeting. This isn't good public relations procedure. And for that reason labor is getting a better "press" than it once enjoyed, while management is finding its attitude of aloofness is costing it the good will of the public. Another example of this is found in the "round table" groups, or religion and labor fellowships, which are growing across the country. The meetings afford ministers and laymen of the Church an opportunity to meet and discuss the issues of industry and labor. There was a time when the more conservative ministers tended to avoid such meetings. Now there are many luncheon groups of this sort, with ministers of all shades of opinion meeting with representatives of labor. Management has been reluctant to share in these meetings. If they were represented, it was usually by some minor executive who made it clear that he could not speak for management, even in his own industry. Or, what is more unsatisfactory, management has a hired agent, such as secretary of their association, who is paid to answer the bothersome questions of preachers and the public. Management often objects to representatives of labor being present.

Labor leaders are usually glad to meet with representatives of the Church. They welcome a chance to talk over their problems. A growing understanding is taking place.

Preconceived notions of what labor leaders are like are giving way to understanding, and even friendships. Labor leaders, on the other hand, are discovering that ministers are not a "bunch of stuffed-shirts."

There was a time when organized labor was looked upon as something different from "the public." Membership in unions represented a small minority of all workers. Unions were considered a minority group, concerned with their own special privilege. Now we frequently read statements to the effect that "labor is the public." This is much nearer the truth than the statement that management represents the public.

### *Wages versus Profits*

It is increasingly clear that total income must be kept high, in relation to the cost of the product of the machines, if we are to buy back the output. The more labor is paid, the more it can purchase. Cut the purchasing power of the public and you cut the market for cars, clothes, and food by just that much. It is to the interest of the manufacturer, therefore, to keep the income of his workers high, and net profits for owners low, if his factory is to keep on running.

Labor understands this. Farmers are coming to understand it. The demand for higher wages, therefore, is not "unreasonable," as the president of G.M. says. It is the most elementary good sense and reason.

Management is slow in recognizing that a new day has dawned. The old day of open shops, and refusal to deal with representatives of organized labor, are past. Nothing illustrates this better than the recent changes in the Ford Motor Company. So long as Harry Bennett remained the head of the company there could be no reconciliation between labor and management. In the very nature of the case, labor distrusted management. Bennett has been relieved of his post, and has resigned from the board of directors. Henry Ford II has indicated that he believes in organized labor, and intends to work with the unions. He believes also in high wages. If he is sincere, and there is good reason to believe that he is, it means a new day for the Ford Motor Company. Labor will develop a trust in the word of management that was never present before. Highly paid workers will be able to buy more cars, and more bathtubs. Men with no fear in their souls will be in reality the "most contented workmen in the world," as they were formerly called by the bright young men whom Mr. Bennett once hired to act as guides through the Ford plant.

To be sure, there are still plenty of labor union members who are selfish, act hastily, and pull wildcat strikes. There are leaders who will permit no democracy in their unions. There are workingmen who spend their pay increases on liquor and gambling. But the labor leader of tomorrow is the soft-spoken young man, backed by facts and graphs, supported by legal advisors and economists, who is speaking for a powerful organization of free men, and is able to count on their disciplined support for reasonable demands, and upon whose cooperation the makers of law may increasingly depend.

Labor, to be democratic, must be organized. And organized labor must have enlightened members, who are aware of the issues, and who will act not merely for their own self-interest, but also, and especially, for the common good. Labor is making rapid strides toward this goal. Where management is wise and prophetic, it recognizes this, and welcomes the opportunity to work with organized labor.

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"This [the New Deal] is essentially a people's contest. It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

# World Peace Is What We Make It

FLOYD MULKEY<sup>1</sup>

A peaceful world is today the dream and hope of people everywhere. As we look forward into the future, praying fervently for a day when war shall be no more, Micah's great vision of the golden age of peace gives substance to our hope: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This vision, representing the noblest social conception of religious idealism, is the goal of the world peace movement.

Unfortunately, however, there is a tendency for too much fantasy to be associated with our conception of peace. We dream of a golden age of peace, conceived as a kind of millenium on earth, an age in which the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, when men's hearts shall be purged of every selfish desire. This fantasy is a perversion of the ideal. It places world peace in the never-never land where only changeless bliss is found. We need instead to get a firm foothold on reality, so that we can advance by practical steps from our present international chaos to a warless world which, although by no means a heaven on earth, will still be a far better earth than any we have ever known.

Viewed realistically, world peace is a social condition. Peace is not merely the absence of war; it is not co-extensive with the years when the arms are silent. Thus, the period before 1939 was warless but it was merely an uneasy armistice, serving as an opportunity for the nations to prepare for the greater struggle to come. The basic social factors making for international harmony were conspicuously absent.

World peace in reality requires a complex of social conditions which promote harmony, harmony among nations, among racial groups, among economic classes—harmony among individuals throughout the world—the kind of harmony which minimizes the development of frustrated and twisted personalities. Another term for such a system of harmony is social justice.

Injustice is the primary cause of wars. The first prerequisite for world peace is, then, an international order of social justice. The second is some political mechanism capable of dealing out international justice, of arbitrating disputes among nations, and of making political adjustments to meet social changes. These two conditions are fundamental to world peace. Where justice is lacking, tensions develop and lead to diplomatic bickering and sparring, and finally to open conflict. Without an international government, each state must inevitably set itself up as a sovereign entity, always ready to make its will felt wherever it has the power.

The establishment of a world order of social justice, involving extensive political adjustments to harmonize with existing social conditions, involving also, unfortunately so, consideration of political pressures—that is, the innumerable facets of the world balance-of-power constellation—such a project in itself is a stupendous political undertaking. But even more difficult would be the maintenance of such a harmonious international equilibrium. Political adjustments once made are difficult to modify and change. Social conditions are much more fluid: they always tend to move out from under any established order. The result is the development of new social disharmony, causing complaints of injustice to be raised once more. When these grievances reach a high degree of intensity they will always be fanned into great passions of hatred by power-seeking demagogues. War then waits on the incident. Such a condition of war psychosis must be resolved long before the final stage is reached.

Political adjustments must be made before the grievances arise. A world order of justice must be a moving equation, not a fixed quantity.

World peace therefore is not something that can be established once for all time. The maintenance of peace makes continuous demands on both leadership and the body of citizens. It requires intelligence and vision in the leaders, a constant devotion to the peace ideal by the people, and an ever-ready willingness on the part of both to make sacrifices for an over-all harmony. World peace is not a completed product but a continual process.

In a warless world there is constant danger of losing the peace. People accustomed to international peace tend to regard this condition as a fixed part of a new world order. Thereupon the great passion for peace begins to evaporate little by little. People become unwilling to pay the price necessary to maintain what they have. They forget that peace, like freedom, can be maintained only by eternal vigilance.

Some persons may object that the thesis advanced here would make impossible a warless world. The answer is that world peace is possible, but it does seem improbable that imperfect man can ever achieve it. World peace denotes a condition of social justice which may be impossible for men to attain. Stated positively, mankind *can* reach the ideal of world peace—if men as individuals are willing to pay the price.

A realistic ideal of world peace must be the starting point of all our efforts for an effective outlawry of war. Unattainable though such an ideal may prove to be, still a constant striving for it will make our world a much better place for everyone.

World peace is what we make it. There is no royal road to a warless world; there is no easy way to an international society of ordered justice. World peace can come only through constant devotion to a great ideal and through never-failing effort directed to its attainment. The achievement of world peace will cost in proportion to its value—man can never attain anything great and noble without paying a commensurate price.

## Do Churches Have Requisite Courage?

"Where, it may be asked, is the businessman who may be convinced that his Christianity ought to be related to economic life and practice to consider the meaning of the Christian ethic in relation to his business? College courses in economics or ethics will not give him that help. Schools of business administration are not on the whole willing to touch these problems. Luncheon clubs and trade associations may help on certain aspects of the question but are not promising sources of illumination. Consideration of the implications of the Christian ethic for business and economic life should take place where the ethic is proclaimed and taught—in the churches or closely related organizations. . . . Tensions between people and divisions within the church are likely to accompany frank discussion of the application of Christian ideals to any area of life. The welfare of the institution as a going concern in the community may be threatened. Prophetic religion in the past has taken risks in the name of Christ and blazed new trails. Will the churches today have the courage and faith to do likewise? There is some evidence that they will"—THORNTON W. MERRIAM, in *The Economic Order and Religion*.

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# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

TAKE YOUR CASE TO THE PEOPLE, MR. PRESIDENT!—We believe in your sincerity and we believe—multitudes of us—in your program for reconversion. But we are slow to act and we need your direct appeal to our patriotism and our conscience to stir us to action. It has now been more than 12 weeks since you laid your 40-point program before Congress. Much more than one-half of the time of the special session has slipped by—and how much has been done? Week by week uncertainty and confusion have increased. Labor-management relations have steadily deteriorated. It is becoming more and more difficult to buy the consumer goods that we desperately need, for one reason because many corporations are stalling—their executives waiting to see what will happen. In what particular has any progress at all been made toward that "more secure and more prosperous way of living" for which you pled? Some of us are deeply concerned about your chief demands, and many more of us can be wakened to concern. We refer, among other things that you emphasized, to

- Full employment legislation.
- Continued price control.
- A permanent FEPIC.
- Increase in the minimum wage.
- A broad housing program.
- A national health plan and expanded social security.
- A whole series of new TVAs.
- And a number of other urgently important matters.

The fact is the majority of members of both House and Senate are not socially minded. There are a few members who are broad-minded, highly intelligent, deeply devoted to the public interest, and independent in spirit and attitude—but they are a minority. The majority are strongly partisan; dominated by petty, selfish interests; subject to the influence of powerful pressure groups but at the same time sensitive to the demands of their constituencies on whose votes their continued tenure in office depends. In this situation, Mr. President, there is no smooth or easy road to the kind of unselfish legislation for which you have asked. It will be a difficult course and your only chance is by direct appeal to the people. Yours is the only office which depends upon the franchise of the entire electorate. In such a difficult and complex time it is you only—you who are the servant of all—who can give national leadership. *Take your case to the people, Mr. President!* We believe they will stand back of you, will make their influence felt, and will make it possible for your broad program of public welfare to be put into effect. Without their support you will not succeed.

WHY GOVERNMENT GROWS.—In certain circles great outcry is heard against what is more or less vaguely termed "stateism," apparently referring to the increased functioning of the federal government. Never a word is heard from these complainants about the increasing size of giant monopolies and the power which they exercise over the common life of the people. Who or what is to cope with their corporate power if the state does not undertake to do so? Each of 34 giant corporations in U.S.A. possesses assets in excess of one thousand million dollars. In 1944 the biggest of these corporations reported assets of more than 6 billion dollars. There are only six states in the Union with a total assessed valuation greater than the assets of this single corporation. Less than 1.5 per cent of all the businesses in the U.S. employ 55 per cent of the workers. This tremendous economic concentration is the real reason for the growth of government. U. S. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney

declared recently: "Monopoly is the mortal enemy of both economic and political freedom.... Monopoly and concentration of economic power inevitably produce authoritarian government. If the people of the world want to maintain political liberty they must make up their minds to preserve economic freedom. To do this it is essential first of all that they take effective steps to halt the concentration of economic power by preventing the further development of monopoly."

STARVATION FOLLOWS IN THE WAKE OF WAR.—It always does, but never before in volume comparable to the present. For several years tens of millions of non-combatants in the European theater of war have had to get along on less than the calories scientists estimate as necessary to sustain life. In the southern half of Europe food production for 1945 is 25 per cent below prewar, and in prewar years these countries did not produce sufficient food to feed their people. In China conditions are even worse. How these conditions have affected child health is indicated by the fact that fifty-five of every hundred babies in Italy do not live to be one year old, and in France eight of every hundred die at birth. Tuberculosis is everywhere present, and the death rate of men, women, and children mounts as typhus spreads in the eastern European countries, bubonic plague in Italy, diphtheria and other diseases in Greece, Holland, Belgium, and Norway. Meanwhile Congress dallies and loafers in authorizing the appropriation for UNRRA to which the nation is committed. The House has acted, but at this writing, after having been stalled for days in the Senate Appropriations Committee, the bill—still loaded down with the absurd rider for which Congressman Clarence Brown, of Ohio, is responsible—is being debated on the Senate floor while people die for lack of food. (The amendment provides that no part of the appropriation "shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government . . . maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating the news. . . ." The *Washington Post* observed that literally enforced this would prevent distribution of food in *every* country of Europe and that the Appropriations Committee of the House itself excluded newsmen from its executive session while the amendment was under consideration. No matter how worthy the ultimate objective aimed at, the very thought of condemning additional thousands of innocent victims of war to death for want of food, as a means of forcing governments to permit freedom of the press, should be abhorrent to men of conscience.)

Let it be remembered that the most of the money appropriated—it is generally estimated not less than 90 per cent—will be spent in this country for grain, dairy products, and medicines. The contribution is not cash out of hand; it is money for relief which at the same time increases the consumer purchasing power of great numbers of American people. Granted that UNRRA has been characterized by weak and faulty administration, is that sufficient reason for permitting wholesale starvation to go on which our superabundance could prevent? The reactionaries in Congress who have been stubbornly fighting relief—among others, Representatives Andresen, Brown, Hoffman, Jonkman, O'Konski, Rizley, Smith of Ohio, and Senators Wheeler and Wherry—should be told by their constituents that their attitude is incapable of defense. As a nation how can we maintain our self-respect in the face of our professions of belief in brotherhood, love for humanity, and regard for elemental human rights, if we refuse to do our bit to save multitudes of fellow beings from starvation.

**ANTI-SOCIAL CHURCH INFLUENCE.**—The broad tolerance of liberal Protestant churchmen reenforced by their admiration for the many outstanding aspects of the social welfare work of the Roman Catholic Church, should not blind them to the antisocial aspects of that Church's program. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, with headquarters in Washington, has been declared by well informed persons to be "the most powerful lobby in the U. S." Its influence is often exerted in behalf of important social legislation. But the fact should not be overlooked that it has also exerted powerful—frequently determining influence—against desirable social legislative proposals. It has, for example, consistently opposed bills which include social medicine provisions, pre-marital examination proposals, and much child-labor legislation. Not only through NCWC, but by numerous other agencies and influences, the Catholic Church is steadily increasing its encroachment into education, public health, and political affairs and by no means always in the interest of the common welfare.

The contradiction to which we have referred is by no means accidental. It is explained by a principle well understood by informed Catholics—namely this: whatever will advance the interests and strengthen the power of the Catholic Church is to be approved; whatever, even remotely, involves the slightest threat to the power of the Church is opposed. The end purpose, so far as the United States is concerned, is to constitute this nation a Catholic state and to this end all strategy must be bent. When it becomes apparent, by consideration of what typical Catholic states such as Peru, Argentina, and Spain are, what the United States would become if the will of the Vatican should in time be realized, many activities other than those already mentioned are seen to be profoundly anti-social.

The censorship over the movies exercised by the Legion of Decency, in many instances effecting improvement in moral tone, is generally known. A similar censorship by more subtle means, less effective, is exercised over a large section of the press. In neither case does censorship stop with effort to combat immorality. It now appears that certain of the leading publishing houses of the country will no longer publish a book that is in any wise critical of Roman Catholicism. The influence of the Catholic Church in the State Department, and certain other departments of the government, in recent years has become notorious. Entirely apart from purely religious considerations, American citizens will do well to ponder the far-reaching social implications of these activities.

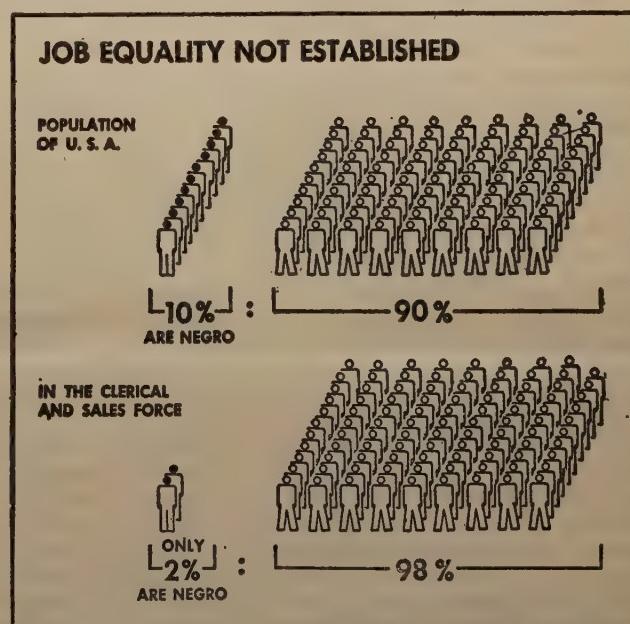
## Race Relations

**ERASING THE COLOR LINE THROUGH NON-VIOLENT, GOOD-WILL DIRECT ACTION** is being seriously attempted by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), a national federation of local interracial groups. CORE asks its members to commit themselves to working "as an integrated, disciplined group by renouncing overt violence in opposing racial discrimination and using the method of direct, non-violent action." It uses the steps of investigation, negotiation, demonstration, and such direct challenge as picketing and boycotting. It finds its field of action "in working against discrimination in public places such as schools, restaurants, churches, and theaters in attempting to attack the more basic social, economic, and political problems of discrimination, particularly as they are manifested in employment and residential segregation." The nature and possibilities of the method are described in a pamphlet, recently published, which reports a number of cases where it has been used, either successfully or unsuccessfully. (*Erasing the Color Line* by George M. Houser, Fellowship Publications, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y., 25¢.) The cases described include restaurants in Detroit, Denver, Washington, D. C., and Chicago; barber shops in Chicago and Oberlin; a swimming pool in Cleveland; skating rinks in Syracuse,

Chicago, and Cleveland; theaters in Baltimore, Columbus, Yellow Springs (Ohio), and Denver; segregation in federal prisons at Ashland, Ky., Lewisburg, Pa., and Danbury, Conn.; and discrimination in employment in New York City, Cleveland, and Chicago. The final section of the pamphlet has an objective evaluation of the non-violent technique as exemplified in the cases described. Its power is seen in the possibility for good will and creativity which enters a conflict situation when the spirit of non-violence is practiced. It cannot be said that antagonism never arises when non-violent procedures are used. In some of the cases reported complete success was not achieved, explained in part at least by the fact that the method was not continued in use for a sufficient length of time. The power of non-violent direct action is definitely demonstrated in the way it builds up cause-consciousness and group solidarity. It is to be noted that all the cases described were in northern states, unless Maryland is classified as southern. CORE groups are said to be springing up almost spontaneously in various sections of the country. It is to be hoped that this growth will continue, and that it will not be long before groups are formed in the deep South and various other parts of the country where they do not now exist. Mr. Houser is confident that "when this type of interracial group action becomes . . . widespread, it will be impossible for the forces of racial prejudice to stand; the combined power of non-cooperation, persuasion, and reconciliation will win the victory."

**NEGRO CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT REACHED A NEW HIGH** during the war, a total of 5.5 million, of whom a few more than 2 million were Negro women. In addition, almost one million Negroes were found in various branches of the armed services. How will it be in the post-war years? Will they be able to hold their wartime gains, or sink back to the poverty level of prewar years?

The shift in Negro employment, it should be noted, was chiefly, though not exclusively, from farms to war plants. In 1940 almost one-half of all Negroes employed worked on farms; in 1944, less than one-third. By January 1, 1945, approximately 700,000 Negroes were employed in the manufacture of ammunition, ships, aircraft, communication equipment and basic metals. Negro women shared in this shift—by 1944 fifty times as many women were employed in war industries as in peacetime. Negroes in government agencies during these same years increased from 60 thousand to 275



PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

From *Will Negroes Get Jobs Now?* by Herbert R. Northrup. Courtesy Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

thousand. Negroes were also up-graded. The number employed as skilled craftsmen and foremen doubled. Within the government service they were entrusted with many positions of responsibility instead of being confined to menial jobs. Even so, at the height of the war program they had neither an equal chance with whites at good jobs, or at jobs of any kind. Particularly in southern war industries Negro labor was not made use of to the fullest extent. These, and other important facts, are brought out in the pamphlet *Will Negroes Get Jobs Now?* (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 110: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 10¢) by Herbert R. Northrup, formerly instructor in Economics at Cornell University. Dr. Northrup estimates that we shall probably have a minimum of 6 million unemployed during the reconversion period, of whom one million will be Negroes. He thinks their situation will be especially difficult because of their concentration in war industries and because discrimination is likely to increase under post-war conditions. He holds, however, that FEPC has started a movement to outlaw racial discrimination in employment; that full employment is practicable; and that Negro unemployment, as other social problems, does not present an insoluble difficulty.

**"RELIGIOUS MEN AND WOMEN WHO STAND IN THE HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION** are committed by their faith in a rational, just and gracious Creator to believe that life in this world is purposeful, that men can learn to live together as brothers, that war between nations must be banished from the earth and the social and economic life of humanity so ordered that the material needs of men can be met and their spiritual capacities fully released. 'I have come,' declared Jesus, the Jew who was the Founder of Christianity, 'that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly.' " This is the opening paragraph in the "Foreword" to the pamphlet *Religion Today in the U.S.S.R.* (The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 East 32 St., New York 16, N. Y., 46 pp., 15¢),<sup>1</sup> written by the Rev. William Howard Melish, Associate Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Brooklyn, and former chairman of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island. Dr. Melish continues: "The old League of Nations, from which so many religious people expected so much, failed in its mission because the two most important nations of the coming world were on the outside, and because the European powers that formed the backbone of the old League's structure allowed their fear of an emerging socialist state in Russia to drive them into a fatal policy of appeasement towards their real enemy—the Axis aggressors. The lesson of these tragic years should by now be plain to all thinking men and women in our churches and synagogues. The new international organization will include both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the constant spirit that guides its deliberations must be that of a united approach to world problems, based upon the firm conviction that the older capitalistic states of the west can, and must, sit down and work together with the new socialized state in a common endeavor. This is the political framework and the fundamental problem of our times. It is important that religious men and women should grasp it and lend their efforts to solve it constructively. For the truth is that the religious issue has been a major separating influence constantly at work between the United States and the Soviet Union. The opinions of church people have had much to do with the coolness between us, and today to a considerable degree will determine the character of our nation's foreign policy towards the Soviet Union and the extent of our country's participation in the future United Nations' organization. German

propaganda portrayed the Soviets as the spearhead of a godless communism, exploiting in the Nazi interest certain aspects of Russian life. Today Goebbels is dead but his words have taken deep root and the myth he planted now stalks on. . . . If unchecked, they could help to send us spinning down the ugly spiral to World War III."

Following this "Foreword," Dr. Melish presents a thorough study and analysis of religion in the Soviets. He concludes that there is in Russia today new respect and regard for religion. "The public education system is still firmly based on the Marxist scientific approach but anti-religious statements have been expunged from the textbooks and histories. . . . There is little direct conflict today between the education of the schools and the religious education of the home and the church, provided the latter is intelligent and adjusted to young minds trained in scientific thinking. . . . In the Soviet Union today religion can survive and perpetuate itself only on the strength of its own inner moral and spiritual quality. . . . Religion in Russia is simpler, more elemental, more spiritual. . . . The Soviet Union is not '*God-less*' nor is the United States *God's sole chosen people*. Both are His. They are meant to live with each other."

This is an extremely important pamphlet and in the interest of improved understanding and international cooperation should have wide circulation.

**ANTI-POLL TAX BILL HAS BECOME A WORLD ISSUE.**—The eyes of the friends of democracy throughout the world are upon the U. S. Senate to see what it will do when the bill comes to vote. In view of Secretary Byrnes' action in sending Mark Etheridge, a leading opponent of poll-tax legislation, to Bulgaria to report on democracy in that country, there is point in Henry Wallace's suggestion that Mr. Etheridge might serve the country [and the world] better if he were to observe and report on what happens in the Senate when the poll-tax bill comes up. There is another, and even more important angle to the matter. As things stand now, members of Congress elected by a small minority of the potential voters of their districts are in position practically to determine the nation's foreign policy. A case in point was recently cited by Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. "In November, 1922," he said, "a certain man won a seat in the U. S. Congress in an election where only 4,163 votes were cast. This man came from the Second District of South Carolina—a district with 300,000 people. Yet only a little more than 4,000 votes were cast in the election which sent this man to Congress—probably one of the smallest votes that ever sent an American to Federal office. This man's name was James F. Byrnes." "The repeated election of poll-tax Congressmen means their seniority rating, which entitles them to the chairmanship of powerful committees," Foreman continued. "Senator McKellar of Tennessee, as president of the Senate, through seniority, was able to handpick the committee which will, in effect, influence the future of the world."

As this is written it appears probable that the Anti-Poll Tax Bill (H.R. 7) may come up in the Senate within a few days—may, in fact, be disposed of before this issue of the BULLETIN reaches its readers. Or, the Constitutional Amendment Bill (S. 192) may be put up first, which will be extremely unfortunate since it will offer an easy way out for Senators who do not want to put themselves on record. H.R. 7 has a better chance this time than ever before, since there is a duly constituted steering committee of fifteen, headed by Senator Mead of New York, in charge. But if and when it does come up instant action will be urgently needed by the friends of democracy across the nation. Neither Senator Barkley, as Administration leader, nor the Senate as a whole will be in a mood to countenance long-drawn-out consideration. Again: *instant, insistent action will be required.* Tell your Senators where you stand.

<sup>1</sup> Copies may be ordered from the United Christian Council for Democracy, 457 West 123 St., New York 27, N. Y. at special prices. 100 copies, \$12.50; 12 copies, \$1.35; single copy, 15c.

## Labor Concern

STRATEGY OF SOME EMPLOYERS bears a strange resemblance to the sit-down strike so roundly condemned by these same employers a few years ago. In the face of serious shortage in manufactured goods many corporations are stalling. A give-away on this attitude recently appeared in *United States News*: "Employers are not all opposed to a showdown on labor issues just at this time, when there are adjustments to be made, anyway, and when the excess-profits tax is taking a large slice out of any profits. If there is trouble, it is better to get it over with in 1945 than have it hang over into 1946." This appears to be a plain game of outsitting labor. The reasoning indulged in is expressed with brutal frankness by the *Munn Monthly News Letter* of the automotive industry: "Perhaps the only solution is a policy of sitting tight and waiting until the economic pinch forces workers to realize they must stay on the jobs or starve. At the moment there is no disposition on the part of management to become frantic over labor unrest. A watching and waiting policy is the general rule." In spite of the fact that in the public press labor is getting about 99 per cent of the blame for current labor difficulties just this attitude is a major factor.

STEEL COMPANIES PLEAD POVERTY for not maintaining take-home pay of their employees. Benjamin Fairless, president of U. S. Steel, in his barefoot boyhood days a coal miner's son in Pigeon Run, Ohio, who draws an annual salary more than twice that of the President of the United States (in 1941, \$156,010.04; no report on 1944 has been seen by this writer), contends that his company cannot possibly afford the \$2-a-day pay increase asked by the union. Profits of the company, it is asserted, are only about a third higher than before the war, and have decreased yearly since 1941. Labor costs, he says, "have gone up tremendously since 1940." (*Steel Facts*, organ of the American Iron and Steel Institute, says wartime earnings of steel workers rose from an average of 99.9 cents per hour in December, 1941, to 127 cents per hour in July, 1945, which can scarcely be said to be a "tremendous" increase.) Many steel products, Mr. Fairless continues, "are today being sold at a loss." Summarizing, the claim of U. S. Steel is that the financial situation of the company is not such that it is able to grant a \$2 per day increase even though income of the workers' families is reduced by cessation of overtime pay and fewer members of the family working for wages since many war industries have shut down. Mr. Fairless' position is apparently that of other steel executives—officers of such companies as Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Republic Steel Corporation, and others.

To the government, U. S. Steel does not seem to be in such a serious plight as its president would have the public believe. President Truman, agreeing with the unions, holds that the profits of the big corporations are sufficiently high to permit wage increases without price increases to consumers. In order that the *real facts* may be available to the general public—which means you and me—the government has set its statisticians to the task of analyzing corporation profits—U. S. Steel among others. The result is illuminating. Take U. S. Steel as an example. In its published reports, on which Mr. Fairless bases his plea of poverty, the company claims that its profits after taxes (expressed in thousands of dollars) were: 1936-39 average, \$44,732; in 1941, \$116,171; in 1943, \$62,632; in 1944, \$60,791 or only one-third more than before the war. But, as an outcome of their analysis, government statisticians get quite a different picture. They assert that profits after taxes really were: 1936-39, average \$45,098; in 1941, \$157,160; in 1943, \$148,538; and in 1944, \$157,094—not one-third higher than before the war, but *more than three times higher*.

How come? The tremendous difference (and in this case use of the word "tremendous" is fully justified) is accounted

for by concealing profits in various kinds of phony reserve accounts. For each of the past three years U. S. Steel hid \$25,000,000 of profits in what it labelled "Additional war cost (contingent reserve)." This, government statisticians contend, is not legitimate accounting. You and I have a few dollars laid aside in War Savings Bonds, but we do not attempt to deduct the amount from our income. Neither does a corporation have a right to deduct such a contingency reserve from its profits.

Next in U. S. Steel's statement is "Amortization of war plants, \$56,765,000." The government has been more than liberal in dealing with corporations in permitting generous proportion of cost of war-time plant facilities to be annually amortized. A reasonable proportion for 1944, government statisticians say, would be \$10,845,000. The company statement wrote off *five times that amount*—to be exact, \$56,765,000. These plant facilities remain where they were built. They will continue to be profitably used. They have not depreciated at any such rate as the company's statement suggests. Another example of attempting to deceive by hiding profits.

A third item in the company's statement wholly disallowed by government statisticians is labelled "Additional pension reserves," for 1944, \$25,383,000. The company has a contractual pension system for which in 1944 it appropriated \$7,692,000. This the government allows as a deduction. But the additional item is one in which the employees have no contractual rights whatsoever. The corporation can in the future make any use of it which it chooses. It might conceivably be contributed to increase the pensions paid. It might be used, in spite of the present label it bears, to increase dividends to stockholders, or whatnot. Well, taking account of these three phony items, you have the difference between the company's poverty showing of \$60,791,000 profits for 1944, and the government accountants' statement of \$157,094,000. Analysis of several other steel companies' reports, and of those of various other big corporations, yields similar results. All of which reenforces the adage that figures never lie but figures do. And also has a bearing upon the *real ability* of U. S. Steel to grant a \$2-a-day increase in pay and thereby make possible higher living standards and larger consumer expenditures of a substantial number of people. Incidentally, also, the American Iron and Steel Institute states that the steel industry will require 55,500 additional men to meet anticipated peacetime production schedules and to meet expected high peacetime demands for steel.

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It has never seemed to me that the isolation of the human soul, its preservation from contamination such as the Middle Ages attempted, or any modern substitute for that, is graced with any dignity at all. If men cannot lift their fellow men in the process of saving themselves, I do not see that it is very important that they should save themselves, because they reduce Christianity by that means to the essence of selfishness, and anything that is touched with selfishness is very far removed from the spirit of Christianity. Christianity came into the world to save the world as well as to save individual men, and individual men can afford in conscience to be saved only as part of the process by which the world itself is regenerated.—Woodrow Wilson.

## Office Secretary Wanted

A competent, experienced Office Secretary, man or woman, with broad social interests, to begin either January 1, or February 1. For full particulars address, Methodist Federation for Social Service, Room 402, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

## Cooperation

COOPERATIVES NOW INCLUDE MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE CONSUMERS in Great Britain is the declaration of the Cooperative Union, basing its statement on recently released statistics for 1944. The total membership of retail cooperatives last year reached 9,225,240, the majority of these representing family membership. Seven local cooperatives have more than 100 thousand members each. The London Cooperative Society, the largest, has 862,670 members. Business of the retail cooperatives totalled in dollars \$1,409,000,000, with an increase for the year in excess of 80 million. The savings to its members of the London society for its fiscal year which closed September 30, 1945, were approximately 4 million dollars.

COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION INCREASES RAPIDLY, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1944 the value of goods produced in plants owned by consumer cooperatives amounted to nearly \$65 million—more than twice the value produced in the preceding year. "Large proportions of both retail and wholesale earnings are traceable not to distributive operations but to the productive plants operated by the central federations. Cooperative production has been increasing very rapidly in the past few years," the report concludes.

OPPORTUNITY FOR EXECUTIVES IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.—Back in 1942, dissatisfied with private profit enterprise, James P. Blackburn, Assistant National Sales Manager of Household Appliances with Sears, Roebuck and Company, tossed his job overboard and gave himself to intensive preparation for service in the Cooperative Movement. He first attended Rochdale Institute in New York, managed two small grocery stores in the east, put in six months with the Council for Cooperative Development in Chicago, and then became manager of North Shore Cooperative, Evanston and Winnetka, Illinois. Recently he was elected Distribution Manager of Appliances of National Cooperatives, Inc., the national federation of consumer and purchasing cooperatives. In his new position he will have a strategic opportunity for service in helping to develop the nationwide cooperative movement.

COOPERATIVE HOUSING AGAIN TO THE FORE, stimulated by the nation's acute housing shortage. Most spectacular development is the East River Cooperative Apartments, a 710-family redevelopment project, enthusiastically endorsed by Mayor La Guardia of New York City. More than a quarter of a million dollars has been subscribed in equity capital by some 200 families. The Eastern Cooperative Wholesale has added a housing specialist—Dale Johnson, a practicing architect—to its staff to head up co-op housing developments within its eleven-state area. He will begin by giving several months to working with A. E. Kazan on the big East River Cooperative Apartments project.

WILL RFC SCRAP \$142 MILLION ENTERPRISE? —Not if the cooperatives have anything to say about it. Pressure is being brought to bear, it is stated in informed quarters, to throw the Big Inch and Little Inch pipe lines, as publicly controlled property, into the discard. Pipe line transportation has always been owned and controlled by the major oil companies in the interest of high private profits. Calling the attention of the President, the Petroleum Administrator for War, the Surplus Property Administrator, and the Congress, to the fact that these properties were built with public money, costing approximately \$142 million, and that they are now practically debt free, having been paid for largely by the consuming public through the purchase of oil and gasoline, the Cooperative League, U.S.A., and National Cooperatives, Inc., have protested "any decision or action by the government to abandon these pipe lines or to prevent or discourage their usefulness in the public interest," and have asked RFC to call a conference of independent oil

marketers and of cooperative organizations for consideration of the possibility of organizing an independent, cooperatively owned corporation for operation of the lines.

## Rural Welfare

INCREASING NUMBERS TURN TO THE COMMUNITY APPROACH as the most promising means of solving vexatious problems of American life. Disillusioned by the failure of federal and state governments to make constructive attack through legislation these citizens are renewing their hope that much more can be done on a local community basis. Reinforcement for this point of view is found in the recent work of Joseph P. Kennedy (ex-ambassador to Great Britain) as chairman of a committee created by an act of the Massachusetts State Legislature, charged with making a survey of economic and social conditions within the state. Mr. Kennedy has not been content merely to investigate. He has essayed the role of crusader for local community initiative, appealing to dormant community pride that in early days had much to do with the development and maintenance of public welfare. Already his earnest counsel has stimulated several communities—both small and large, to attempt and successfully accomplish significant results. The ex-ambassador has surprised some people by his optimistic and socially progressive contentions. He has declared on numerous occasions that a national income of 130 billion dollars is both feasible and necessary; that in the past industry's profits have been unjustifiably large; and that workers and farmers, with their investment of their life's energy in productive work, are entitled to a larger share in the national income than they have received. For communities to tackle their troubles effectively in localizing them and achieving a remedial adjustment, Mr. Kennedy contends, certain prerequisites are necessary: (1) most important is a realistic recognition of the new social and economic facts of American life; (2) a sense of individual and civic responsibility coupled with local patriotism; and (3) the enlistment of community agencies such as the newspapers, banks, labor unions, and farmers' organizations in a unified effort in place of the all-too-common fragmentation and divisive spirit which these agencies now manifest. He believes this unity, and resulting cohesive power, can be engendered if groups of citizens and civic agencies give themselves to the task. In such an endeavor the churches should have a significant part.

Nature knows but one unpardonable sin: the failure of a living organism to adapt to a changing environment.—  
Edgar Ansel Mowrer.

## The Fire Christ Kindles

JAMES REID

(Digest of sermon printed in the *British Weekly*)

"I am come to send fire on the earth." Luke 12.49. Some sayings of Jesus we habitually disregard. They are too difficult or too uncomfortable for us. Certain of his sayings are familiar to us all. How many remember that he said, "I am come to send fire on the earth"? Fire is disturbing and dangerous. It destroys and works changes. It was not long before people saw that Christ's ministry would work changes. His teaching would make an end of the claims of Jewish nationalism. It was devastating doctrine for those who thought of themselves as God's favorites. Parents complained that when Christ got hold of young people they were different; sometimes they made friends with queer people. Do not imagine that Christianity means absence of change or discord or conflict.

Think of the fire that has been kindled by his teaching about the value of the individual. He taught men their

value as God's children and made it intolerable that they should be treated as mere things. It took time for that truth to get through but when it did it kindled a fire that burned up the slavery system, and will go on to make every tyranny impossible.

Or think of the fire Christ kindles in the conscience. When Zaccheus accepted his friendship a fire was kindled in Zaccheus' conscience that burned up his ill-gotten gains and made a revolution in his life. Christ was a reconciler, bringing people together, but he was never an appeaser. Some people confuse these two things. Nothing but disaster ever comes from shutting our eyes to evil for the sake of a peace that is a sham. Too often there is conspiracy of silence about evils that ought to be resolutely faced and ended.

Or think of the fire that Christ kindles in the heart. He awakens sympathy, compassion, pity; and these have the quality of fire. His love, if we let it fully enter into our hearts will burn through the selfish bonds that bind us to our own comfort and security.

We must not be afraid of Christ's love and what it will do in us and in our world. It will make changes. We must not stand in the way of them, however disturbing. In the power of the Christian experience the old world of Christ's day was turned upside down, but in the process the foundations of a Christian society were laid.

Some years ago a company of sailors landed on an island on which nothing was growing but tangled grass and shrubs. On the island they left a camp fire which spread and burned up the undergrowth. Years later some of the same returned. On the island were clumps of young trees. In the soil there were seeds. The burning over of the surface had made it possible for the buried seeds to sprout and grow. Our world is like that island. There are in it the buried seeds of a different kind of order. But these need the fire to burn the things that hinder their growth. Christ came to send fire on the earth.

## Secretary's Personal Report

(Continued from page 4)

On Wednesday and Thursday, October 24 and 25, I was kept busy in a series of meetings at the University of Oklahoma, cooperatively arranged by the University Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., both of which organizations had given similarly splendid cooperation in setting up a program for me at the University last summer. The series included two youth forums, a radio interview on the problems of returning veterans, and a meeting on legislation of the new Junior League of Women Voters on the campus. Friday through Sunday morning the Wesley Foundation at Oklahoma A. and M. College kept me busy in a series of meetings, including one state-wide Methodist Student Movement Executive Committee meeting at Edmond on Saturday. On Sunday evening I was back at the University of Oklahoma to speak to the Wesley Foundation (visited that night by the High School group). This was followed by an impressive service of dedication, after which all interested came together to organize a local unit of the Federation. There was a good and enthusiastic turn-out, which set up the chapter by unanimous vote. Membership cards were signed on the spot, so that the chapter starts off with 25 members and is out for more. Elected as officers of this fine new local (predominantly youth) unit were; John Paul Jones, President; Connie Seegars, Vice-President; Peggy Long, Secretary-Treasurer. Monthly meetings (with some social action at each) were agreed to, and the first full-length meeting called for the following Sunday. This enthusiastic, on-fire group will bring much life and leadership to our developing youth division.

Leaving Oklahoma I came directly to Atlanta, and Emory

University. Time here has been spent making individual contacts and helping to open the door to possible organizational development in the future. One particularly inspiring occasion here was that of sitting in on an area MFSS meeting (to which Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dorothy Weber, and others had given leadership). It was held in the Wesley Memorial Church (white) and had as its delegates representatives of Methodist Women's groups in the churches of Atlanta (Negro as well as white). The very fact that this meeting could be held in a white Methodist church with no segregation is evidence of genuine progress. There was further encouragement in the able and specific way in which these Methodist women leaders faced, and took significant action on, the major social, economic, and legislative problems before us. The Methodist Federation will be greatly enriched in days to come as we increasingly draw upon the social passion and leadership which these splendid laywomen of both races can impart.

## "Your Solemn Assemblies"

(Continued from page 3)

generalizations determines the social significance of enriched worship. It is not so. For not only do our privileged-class worshippers receive refreshment for their struggle to maintain their privileges; they are fortified also in their belief that special privileges are right and proper. No insinuation of insincerity lurks in this statement; on the contrary, it implies that when a church leads men of this kind to enjoy this kind of worship it gives them reasonable ground for supposing that their conduct has the approval of God. Here lies a partial explanation of the fact that the distrust of churches that sometimes appears among social conservatives never is directed towards this kind of worship! Here, likewise, is one of the reasons why clergymen can be standard-bearers of reaction without losing their self-respect. Finally, one can begin to guess why, in western countries, Christ and Mammon appear to agree with each other in their evaluation of Russian civilization.

## The Federation Mailbag

Dear Friend: Here is a comment on the "Proposed Program of Study and Action" appearing in the October SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. This is what we need more of—making concrete what next steps are. Apart from the principles enunciated, you have gone far in stating specifics called for by the principles. But it is here that the switch doesn't seem entirely closed. Who is to do these specific things? How? Which are most strategic now? How can these be gotten into the thinking and action of local congregations, into youth programs, and so on? Who will contract to attempt with his church or group one or more of these? And then report on success and/or failure as a case-study?

Perhaps this is beyond the power of the MFSS. Yet so often such statements remain paper maps only. Road maps are good and useful, but they are not the journey, which takes some slogging. It is just that price the Church needs to pay in a way few parts of it have, so it seems to me. Might there be a corner in each issue for recording actual instances of an individual or group coming to grips with the genuine *social service* for which the Federation exists? Yours for action.—Everett M. Stowe, New York.

The "corner" is here, waiting to be used. Conference Federation groups are autonomous. We earnestly hope that we shall soon have reports of significant action from both Conference Chapters and Local Chapters.—Ed.

Dear Friends: The October BULLETIN is a "honey." I just must let you know how I feel about it. The BULLETIN is brief enough so that we can easily digest it all. It is inclusive and stimulating generally.—Albert E. Tuck, Minnesota.

## Books and Pamphlets

*Sixty Million Jobs*, Henry A. Wallace (Simon and Schuster, New York, Paper ed., 96 pp., \$1.00; Cloth, 224 pp., \$2.00). Reviewed by LLOYD F. WORLEY.<sup>1</sup>

The program committee of the Men's Bible Class in my church selects the topics which they wish to have presented and then asks three different men to discuss the theme—a teacher, a lawyer and as you might expect, the minister. When they met last summer between the two "V" days they selected employment as the theme for November. Ours is an industrial city and when November came around we were concerned with a strike in our leading shop with four thousand men involved. The employees voted 16 to 1 in favor of a strike and the issue is maintenance of union membership. In a plant of that size the individual didn't have a chance and the prospect of unemployment loomed large.

In such a situation the new book by Henry Wallace provided factual basis for optimism that such difficult problems are capable of solution. It charted the "know-how" for an economy of abundance which means job opportunity and not just a scramble for a limited number of jobs at starvation wages. It offers a diagnosis for a situation which has come to be looked upon as one of hopeless despair and continuing bitterness.

Jobs mean bread. Our Lord taught us to pray for it daily and never encouraged us to pray for something beyond the bounds of possibility. He taught us to depend upon a Heavenly Father who would not offer a stone in place of bread. In His parable of the workers in the vineyard He led us to believe that a Kingdom principle is to be concerned with compensation adequate for human needs without quibbling over hours and wage scales.

In *Sixty Million Jobs* Henry A. Wallace sets his sights to the needs of all of our people. It is his belief that it will take approximately that number of jobs to double the standard of living of those whose standard of living has been lowest; and that as a result of this doubling process, the rest of us will have our own incomes made more certain, and thus be delivered from the fear and insecurity which is the seed-bed of so many undemocratic movements.

It is a sobering thought to have Henry Wallace tell us in this book that as late as "1940 more than a third of the nation's 37 million families had incomes of less than \$1,000 per year. Throughout the war there have been constant and severe shortages. Why? Not only because of the tremendous food supplies sent overseas to our armed forces and those of our allies. Not only because of helping to feed liberated peoples. But also, and very largely, because millions of people at home have had the money to buy more food, and better food, than they were ever able to afford before."

Government buying has been responsible for the orders which have kept up production and wages. As government orders are naturally cancelled the buying power must come from somewhere else or we are headed for a tailspin into depression. Wallace argues and fortifies his arguments with ways and means of increasing the buying power of the millions who have been on the subsistence level. It is this increased purchasing power which the business man needs for expansion of his markets. "This is the upward trend we must maintain with continued full employment—this is what makes more and better customers. Millions of workers who were jobless before the war gained their integrity and self-reliance in the war prosperity. But they cannot keep it unless peace is made as prosperous as war. And if they lose it, it will be the fault of all of us—not the fault of the workers."

Of course we know the Christians of the First Century made matters like this their deep concern. In the Book of Acts we read: "The disciples contributed according to their ability. They shared with one another. No one among them was in want. They shared in proportion to need." (Goodspeed.) There is ample scriptural warrant for our concern in this vital matter of jobs. A country able to perform the miracle of production for victory in wartime is able to solve this question of adequate employment—if we will it to be so. Wallace states the case for the interdependence of all areas of human endeavor as ardently as the Apostle Paul states the

truth that "we are members one of another." He has a good word to say on issues like a guaranteed annual wage; the maintenance of prevailing "take-home" pay envelopes; the continuance of the FEPC on a permanent basis as all contributing parts of a total national income sufficient to produce the needed jobs. He gives a connotation to "Free Enterprise" which makes it more palatable to those who have had good reason to regard it with suspicion as a slogan for the return of "normalcy."

Mr. Wallace quotes chapter and verse in building up his argument that there are new frontiers of abundance which will increase our human assets and provide jobs in the process. He envisions government spending which many people fear, as only an incidental frontier among many which can be developed. He believes that planning is possible without regimentation in what he calls the "Nation's Budget for Full Employment." He takes a realistic view in respect to taxes although he didn't prove his case with me in respect to repealing the excess profit tax provisions. On the matter of the national debt and bankruptcy he furnishes a neat quotation from one of the volumes of Lord Macaulay. It bears out our own observations in the last decade when there were those who were sure the relief measures of depression days were too costly to tolerate. War expenditures and Lend-Lease have dwarfed those former figures and yet the government at Washington still lives. It will continue to live even though help in planning 60 million jobs will cost money.

There is encouragement to be found in this book. I read it along with *Enough and to Spare*, by Professor Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard. When a business man and a scientist agree that our problems are capable of solution, those of us in the business of stimulating the spiritual lives of our people to be about our Father's business have no reason for despair. Humanity needs jobs for bread and "if some one who is rich sees his brother in need and closes his heart against him, how can he have any love for God in his heart?" (I John 3:17).

*British Labor's Rise to Power*, Harry W. Laidler (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y., Pamphlet, 1945, 39 pp., 25¢.) Begins with the surprising, overwhelming victory of the Labor Party in July, 1945, when—defeating Churchill—Labor won over 60 per cent of the seats in the British Parliament, giving it for the first time a clear Parliamentary majority. Follows a short, concise description of the Labor Cabinet and Parliament; a summary of the king's address at the inauguration of the Parliament, and a sketch of Labor political action in Britain during the past 70 years. Also included is the famous electoral manifesto of which Labor distributed more than a million copies during the campaign, and important facts about the membership and government of the party.

*The Forward March of American Labor*, Theresa Wolfson, Associate Professor of Economics of Brooklyn College, and Joseph Glazer of the Educational Department, Textile Workers Union of America CIO. (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y., Pamphlet, 1945, 32 pp., 15¢.) There are several heavy tomes on the history of labor in U.S.A. This pamphlet is different—a brief, interesting factual sketch of the development of the American labor movement. Supplies the ABC information that everyone interested in the movement should carry in mind. Carries also an important bibliography.

*How to Raise Wages without Increasing Prices*, Walter P. Reuther (General Motors Department, U.A.W.-CIO, 411 W. Milwaukee Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. Copies free on request.) A summary of the basic facts presented to the federal economic, reconversion, and labor agencies by the General Motors Department of the U.A.W.-CIO, together with excerpts from the brief filed by spokesmen for the General Motors workers with the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

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Humanity stands at a critical point at the crossroads of time, and it behoves us to credit all nations with good intentions. To accuse Russia of insincerity in her desire to help establish and maintain peace, in view of her leaders' statements before and during the [United Nations] Conference, and the pacific attitude and actions of her representative, is a betrayal of the spirit and hopes of the peoples of all nations."—James C. Baker.

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